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ACTION EUR-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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S E C R E T USNATO 6107

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE REQUESTED ON REVISED VERIFICATION PAPER

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A. STATE 234882 B. USNATO 5856

SUMMARY: IS HAS NOW CIRCULATED REVISED TEXT (SEE SEPTTEL) OF ITS DRAFT REPORT ON NEGOTIATED INSPECTION MEASURES. TEXT INCLUDES COMPLETED DRAFT OF SECTION IV ON SPECIFIC MEASURES. SPC WILL MEET MONDAY, DEC. 17 TO REVIEW PAPER AND DISCUSS GENERAL REACTIONS. IS HOPES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PRE-CHRISTMAS PERIOD TO PRODUCE FURTHER REDRAFT OF TEXT IN TIME FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND POSSIBLY APPROVAL EARLY IN NEW YEAR. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON POINTS MENTIONED IN PARA 2 BELOW IN TIME FOR MONDAY SPC MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. NEW IS DRAFT INCLUDES DETAILED DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC MEASURES IN WHAT IS NOW FULLY ELABORATED SECTION IV. IN OTHER SECTIONS, DRAFT INCORPORATES INDIVIDUAL AMENDMENTS, AS WELL AS CHAIRMAN'S SECRET

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SUGGESTED COMPROMISES WHERE VIEWS WITH DIFFERING EMPHASIS WERE EXPRESSED. ONLY SPECIFIC (HENCE BRACKETED) DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ARE IN PARAS 5 AND 6, WHICH RELATE TO THE DEGREE OF RELIANCE ON, AS WELL AS ALLIED ACCESS TO, OUTPUT OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS

(NTM). MAJORITY OF U.S. PROPOSALS, AS SET FORTH IN REF A, ARE EITHER EXPLICITLY OR INDIRECTLY INDICATED. SPECIFIC EXCEPTION IS PARA 9 OF NEW DRAFT, WHERE LANGUAGE FAVORS FLANK VIEWS.

2. SINCE PROPOSE OF MONDAY MEETING IS TO ELICIT GENERAL REACTIONS TO PAPER, WE WILL NOT NEED LINE-BY-LINE GUIDANCE AT THIS TIME. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, WELCOME WASHINGTON'S JUDGEMENT ON OVERALL CAST OF PAPER. SPECIFICALLY, WE NEED GUIDANCE AT THIS TIME ON THE FOLLOWING:

A. DRAFT "CONCLUSIONS" SET FORTH IN EACH MEASURE - IS WOULD LIKE TO CONTRACT PAPER BY DISPOSING OF MEASURES WHICH SHOULD NOT BE ADVANCED. THESE INCLUDE MEASURES C (MLM'S) AND D (ATTACHES) WHERE THE CONCLUSIONS ARE THAT NEITHER SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED. IN VIEW OF WELL-KNOWN AND OFT REPEATED ALLIED VIEWS ON THESE TWO MEASURES (AS CURRENTLY REFLECTED IN THE CONCLUSION), CAN WASHINGTON AGREE TO DROPPING THEM IF A CONSENSUS TO THIS EFFECT DEVELOPS? CONVERSELY, CAN WASHINGTON ACCEPT IF NOT AT THIS TIME THEIR SUBSTANTIVE DETAIL, AT LEAST THE CONCLUSIONS OF MEASURES A, B AND E?

B. SECTION V: RECOMMENDATIONS - GUIDANCE ON CURRENT LANGUAGE OF THIS SECTION WOULD ENABLE US TO ACT ON OTHER POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS SECTIONS OF THE PAPER. IS CAVEAT OF "POSSIBLY" WITH RESPECT TO EXTENDING OVERT SYSTEM TO COLLATERAL STABILIZING MEASURES SUFFICIENT? ALSO, IS LANGUAGE ON "REASONABLY DENSE SYSTEM OF MOBILE INSPECTION TERMS" ACCEPTABLE GIVEN U.S. SUGGESTION OF ABOUT 30 TWO-MAN REAMS IN NGA?

E. WHILE WE BELIEVE THAT A GENERAL WASHINGTON REACTION TO NEW IS DRAFT TOGETHER WITH SPECIFIC GUIDANCE AS REQUESTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, WOULD COVER US SATISFACTORILY FOR MONDAY'S SPC MEETING, WE WILL ALSO NEED GUIDANCE SOON ON THOSE KEY ISSUES ON VERIFICATION IDENTIFIED IN REF B AND WHICH ARE EITHER WOVEN INTO OR APPEAR IN BRACKETS IN THE NEW TEXT. THESE INCLUDE:

A. ACCESS TO NTM OUTPUT - THIS IS ALMOST CERTAINLY A CENTRAL ISSUE FOR THE ALLIES IN THE ENTIRE VERIFICATION INSPECTION COMPONENT
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OF MBFR. NOT ONLY DOES THE U.S. HAVE TO DECIDE THE EXTENT AND MODALITIES WHEREBY NTM OUTPUT WOULD OR COULD BE SHARED WITH THE ALLIES,

BUT IT MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT ALLIES WILL INSIST ON A RELATIVELY EXTENSIVE AND DENSE SYSTEM OF OVERT MEASURES IF THEY CONCLUDE THAT THE U.S. IS NOT INCLINED TO BE FORTHCOMING WITH RESPECT TO NTM. THE SCOPE OF ALLIED DEMANDS FOR AN OVERT SYSTEM IS THUS TO AN IMPORTANT DEGREE A FUNCTION OF THEIR SATISFACTION WITH WHATEVER NTMS OUTPUT THE U.S. CHOOSES TO RELEASE TO THEM.

B. STAFFING, ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF INSPECTORATES - ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MANAGED TO CAVEAT THE STAFFING QUESTION BY SUBJECTING IT TO FURTHER STUDY (A CHAIRMAN'S COMPROMISE). WASHINGTON

WILL NOTE IN NEW PARA 10 THAT ALLIES WISH TO HOLD FIRM RE IDENTIFYING NATIONAL ORIGIN OF INSPECTORS AND ASSIGNING ALLIED LIAISON OFFICERS TO WP TEAMS (FOR WHICH THEY ARE THEREFORE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENT). THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO PROVIDE SOLID ARGUMENTS IF WE ARE TO SUCCESSFULLY PERSUADE SOME ALLIES NOT TO PARTICIPATE. THE ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTION IN NEW PARAS 11 AND 12 MAY BE DIFFICULT TO COUNTER ALTHOUGH WE NOTE USDEL MBFR'S SUGGESTION IN PARA 3 (C) OF VIENNA'S 5890 AND BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE SALEABLE IF AMPLIFIED IN GREATER DETAIL.

C. VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES - WHILE NEW PARA 19 IS LESS MANDATORY IN TONE, IT CONTINUES TO REFLECT STRONG ALLIED INTEREST IN APPLYING THE OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM AS BROADLY AS POSSIBLE. WE MAY BE ABLE TO FURTHER RELAX THE MANDATORY TONE OF PARA 19 SHOULD WASHINGTON DESIRE, IF WE HAVE AVAILABLE ARGUMENTS ILLUSTRATING PERSUASIVELY THE GREATLY ADDED ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN WHICH SUCH EXTENSION OF INSPECTION ACTIVITY MIGHT ENTAIL, AS CONTRASTED TO MARGINAL INCREASES IN OVERALL BENEFITS PRODUCED.

D. MEASURES OUTSIDE THE NGA - AS NOTED IN PARA 1 ABOVE, NEW LANGUAGE IN PARA 9 OF IS DRAFT REFLECTS KNOWN FLANK PREFERENCES FOR EXTENDING VERIFICATION PROCESS TO HOPED FOR APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS

UNILATERAL AS FAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED ON SOVIET FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM THE CENTRAL REGION. WE THINK THE LANGUAGE IS TOO STRONG AS PRESENTLY WRITTEN AND REQUIRES AT LEAST SOME SOFTENING UP. SINCE THE ENTIRE CONCEPT IS A NON-STARTER IN ANY CASE, WE COULD USE
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USDEL MBFR'S SUGGESTED ARGUMENT IN PARA 3A, OF VIENNA'S 9890 BUT WOULD WELCOME ANY ADDITIONAL SUPPORTING RATIONALE.

4. GUIDANCE REQUESTED IN SUBPARAS ABOVE IS NOT NEEDED FOR MONDAY, DEC 17 SPC MEETING. NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK THE ISSUES IDENTIFIES MUST BE ADDRESSED SOONER OR LATER, AND THAT WE SHOULD HAVE RELATIVELY EXPLICIT VIEWS ON THEM IN ORDER TO DIRECT FUTURE REDRAFTING OF IS STUDY TO CONFORM TO U.S. VIEWS. THE TIMING OF SUCH GUIDANCE SHOULD BE BASED ON WASHINGTON'S PREFERENCES FOR THE FUTURE PACE OF ACTIVITY IN NATO'S VERIFICATION ACTIVITY, WHICH IS NOW RUNNING AHEAD OF THAT ON STABILIZING MEASURES. WE WOULD WELCOME WASHINGTON'S VIEWS AND PREFERENCES ON THE TIMING QUESTION AS WELL, SINCE THEY WILL INFLUENCE OUR APPROACH IN THE OVERALL REDRAFTING PROCESS, I.E., WHETHER WE SEEK TO SLOW DOWN, OR MAINTAIN THE SPC'S CURRENT MOMENTUM.
RUMSFELD.

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